

**THE IMPACT OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE ON THE FORMATION  
OF NATIONAL STATEHOOD AND POLITICAL IDENTITY**

*Key words* – Armenian Genocide, pre-genocide, post-genocide, national statehood, Armenian statehood heritage, political identity, civilarchic elite, civilization, civic culture, Armenian diaspora, Armenian civilarchy

*“Today most Armenians do not live in the Republic of Armenia. Indeed, most Armenians have deep ties to the countries where they live. Like a lot of us, many Armenians find themselves balancing their role in their new country with their historical and cultural roots. How far should they assimilate into their new countries? Does Armenian history and culture have something to offer Armenians as they live their lives now? When do historical and cultural memories create self-imposed limits on individuals?”<sup>1</sup>*

**Introduction**

The relevance of this article is determined, on the one hand, the multidimensionality of issues related to understanding the role of statehood and the political and legal system in the development of Armenian civilization, civic culture and identity, on the other hand - the negative impact of the long absence of national system of public administration and the devastating impact of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 on the further development of the Armenian statehood and civilarchy. Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Turkey was the first ever large-scale crime against humanity and human values. Taking advantage of the beginning of World War I, the Turkish authorities have organized mass murder and deportations of Armenians from their historic homeland. Genocide divided the civilarchy of the Armenian people in three parts: *before the genocide (pre-genocide), during the genocide and after the genocide (post-genocide)*. Genocide until now has a huge impact on the Armenian statehood, the Diaspora, national ideology, identity and values. At the same time destroyed the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Armenian people and were destroyed everything that was connected with the Armenian civilization. Cultural genocide subjected Armenian historical monuments and churches, which continues to this day. Until now, for the Armenian people a huge moral and psychological trauma from the tragedy of the Armenian Genocide. The essence of this injury related to the problem of insecurity

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<sup>1</sup> Crimes against Humanity and Civilization: the Genocide of the Armenians, Brookline, Massachusetts: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 2004, p. 2.

of the people, mistrust to the international and European law, international and European governmental organizations, as well as the principles of equality and freedom of nations.

### **The paradoxes of the Armenian Statehood Heritage and Threats of Civilization**

Traditional Armenian Highland was connecting link between East and West, as well as between the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia and the Caucasus countries. Armenian identity is held in the Armenian highlands during the millennial history of the Armenian people. From the viewpoint of the Armenian identity, modern Armenia coincides with the historical homeland of the Armenian people, which has been developing the Armenian nation and the national statehood. The Armenian nation is one of the oldest modern nations, and the Armenian statehood is the oldest in the history of human civilization. Armenian statehood beginning evolves from ancient times, when there existed a modern European nation-state, and the nations of antiquity were in the initial stage of social evolution. History of the Armenian statehood has more than a few thousands of years, which contributed to the development of social cohesion and national identity in ancient Armenia. On this ancient civilization demonstrates the effective statehood and a new era in the political, socio-economic and cultural development of national statehood of ancient Armenia became Greater Armenia.

For the Armenian people the end of the XIX century and the beginning of XX century was more difficult and fatal. For Western Armenians important task remained the question of liberation from the Turkish violence and oppression. Turkish imperial government machine gradually implemented a policy of genocide against the Armenian people as having imperial ambitions Turkish nationalists sought ways to rule the ideology of pan-Turkism. The liberation struggle was the only way of survival of the Armenian people. The national liberation movement of Armenians contributed to the emergence of new ideas of national rebirth. If the principal value of the Armenian people was legal mechanisms and the adoption of the constitution, then ideology of Pan-Turkism demanded assimilation or destruction of peoples in the Ottoman Empire. This is the civilizational, cultural and value differences between the Armenian civilizational elite and the pan-Turkic elite. Politics of Pan-Turkism was the basis of action by the Ottoman authorities. As a result, throughout the territory of Ottoman Empire was the implementation of the planned genocide of 1894-1896 years, and after coming to power of “Young Turks” genocide preceded against the Cilician Armenians in 1909<sup>1</sup>. The policy of massacres of Armenians in the western beginning of 1915 have been the forerunner to a policy of genocide, the purpose of which was to deprive Armenians not only habitat, but also completely destroy them<sup>2</sup>. Long

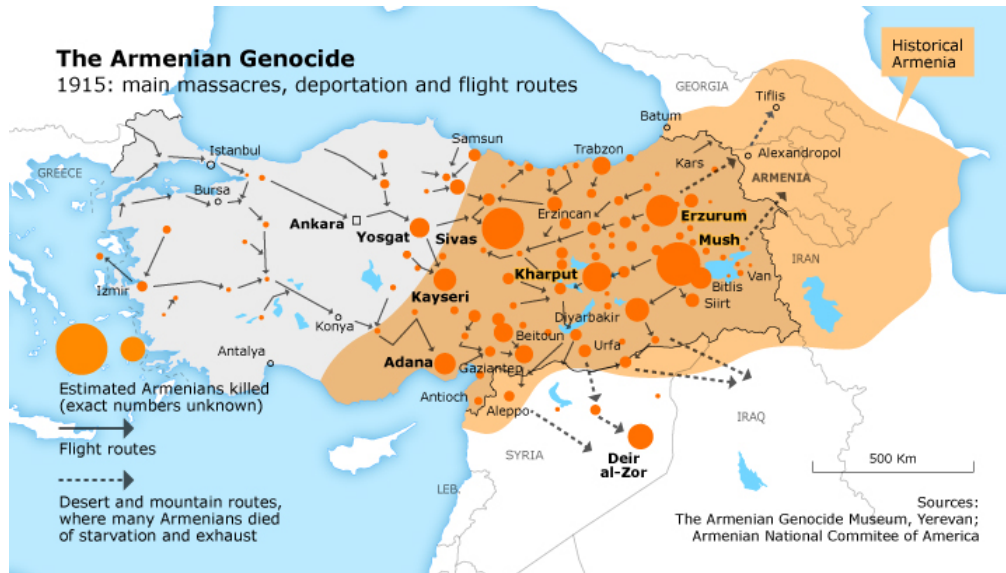
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<sup>1</sup> **Գասպարյան Ռ.**, Կիլիկիահայությունը ցեղասպանության նախօրեին // «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների» (այսուհետև՝ «ԼՀԳ»), 1995, թիվ 1, էջ 83-94:

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian Genocide - the First Genocide of the XX century. Author of exhibition and compiler of the book Rev. Fr. Asoghik Karapetyan, Holy Etchmiadzin, 2013.

Armenian Genocide was implemented in the period of 1915-1923 years (see Picture 1), resulting in the Western Armenians was deprived of their homeland. Even *Armenian National Constitution*, which was adopted by the Armenian National Assembly on 24 May 1860 and approved in March 17, 1863, could not prevent the Armenian Genocide.

**Picture 1. Ottoman Turks commit genocide against the Armenians<sup>1</sup>**



The complex geopolitical and geo-economic location of Armenian statehood at the crossroads clash of civilizations was also one of the reasons for the loss of a centuries-old statehood. However, before the Armenian Genocide, Armenians lived compactly in their historical lands continuously for more than five millennia. In the absence of national statehood, protective and representative functions of the nation served as the Armenian Apostolic Church, which has become the guarantor of the safety of the nation and the continuity of the Armenian civilization. Formed in the XIX century, public organizations and political parties have not been able to establish a national coordinating organization, which is able to act in cooperation with the Church, but on the contrary, these organizations led to a rivalry among them and opposed themselves to the Church. A dangerous challenge to the Armenians was a matter of choice of the national strategy and tactics in respect of the Western Armenia, that is, in respect of the majority of the Armenian nation and the Armenian Highland, located in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>1</sup> **Beauchamp Z., Lee T. B., Yglesias M. (Ed.), «40 maps that explain World War I» // <http://www.vox.com/a/world-war-i-maps>; [http://cdn1.vox-cdn.com/assets/4612767/turkey\\_armenian-deportations\\_720px\\_map.jpg](http://cdn1.vox-cdn.com/assets/4612767/turkey_armenian-deportations_720px_map.jpg) (Accessed March 10, 2015).**

The policy of genocide in Western Armenia, Cilicia and other provinces of the Ottoman Empire carried out the ruling political elite of Turkey, which were guided by the ideology of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism. These ideologies preached intolerance towards non-Muslims and Armenians, as well as preaching chauvinism against all non-Turkish peoples. Armenian people are prevented and still prevent far-reaching plans of the Turkish political elite of the creation of a “Great Turan”, and this way the Turkish aggressors had to implement mass extermination the Armenian people.

After Genocide, loss of Western Armenia and parts of Eastern Armenia for more than two-thirds of the Armenians turned out of their historical homeland, and formed a modern diaspora. In the western Armenian diaspora after the Genocide and deportation; Armenians have again started to build the church and formed the cultural and educational centers, thus, preserved and developed a sense of national identity, as well as the will to return to the lost homeland. Despite the fact that the Armenians in the Russian Empire lived in relatively free conditions, and their national existence was not under threat however, in the eastern diaspora in the Soviet period were lost the Armenian territory, cultural centers, churches, theaters, schools and other heritage values. With anticivilarchic difficulties Armenian people to develop its own cultural identity and in the process of nation building have been developed all the stages of world civilization. Throughout the long history of its existence, the Armenian nation survived the era of rise and decline of the national statehood, the impact of different religions and cultures, interaction with many civilized and barbarous peoples. In the absence of statehood and political independence of Culture received political and ideological status. Lost its statehood, and with it the political independence, culture has retained a national identity for many centuries. National culture has become a political concept and program of activities and development. The social and symbolic capital of culture has become a way of organizing the Armenian world. The reason for the evolution of the historical existence of the Armenian nation is a civilizational potential, which became the foundation of political independence. National ideas, spiritual and moral attitude contributed to the development of political identity and consciousness.

### **From the Transcaucasian Armenia Return to the Origins of the National Heritage of the Eastern and Western Armenia**

The February Revolution of 1917 in Russia was the beginning, the starting point of a powerful process for Eastern Armenia. Radical changes and transformation of the monarchical political system, on the one hand, it was the result of social and political contradictions, and on the other hand, there are new challenges for the majority of the population. The revolution became the reason political instability and made it possible for the peoples of the Russian Empire<sup>1</sup>, the right to self-determination, independence and the formation of the nation-state.

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<sup>1</sup> Մելիքյան Վ., Անդրկովկասյան կոմիսարիատի քաղաքականությունը երկրամասի վարչական սահմանաբաժանումների և զենաստվոների հարցում // «ԼՀԳ», 2009, թիվ 3, էջ 60-73:

Armenian political parties generally supported the foreign and domestic policies of the Interim government. An example of this was the first congress of Western Armenians, which was held in May 1917 and created the National Council of Western Armenians in order to intensify their efforts to solve the Armenian Question. Armenian political elite hoped that the Interim government can solve the problem of Western Armenia. Subsequently Genocide, Western Armenia lost populations and suffered considerable damage and the Interim government in the territory of Western Armenia, occupied by the Russian troops had set up a special management regime<sup>1</sup>. In September-October 1917 held the first Congress of Eastern Armenians, which were mainly discuss issues of internal and foreign policy, and created the Eastern Armenian multi-party National Council of Eastern Armenian, which actually became a general power of the Armenian people up to independence of the First Republic of Armenia.

The October Revolution in Russian multinational society has led to chaotic processes and fragmentation of the political system, which has become a sign of the tragic events of the civil war, interethnic conflicts and totalitarianism. After the October Revolution in Russia for the eastern part of the Armenian people were important preservation of national autonomy, national security issues and the formation of national self-governing institutions<sup>2</sup>. After two years of the Armenian Genocide in 1917 for the Eastern Armenia was the urgent formation of the national statehood. During the Communist revolution in Russia the Armenian people were in a situation of *civil unrest and power vacuum*. The leaders of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat sought to spread the communist revolution in all countries and have a big impact on the Transcaucasus, for the implementation of this intact Bolshevism decided to use the Armenian factor<sup>3</sup>. In particular, December 29, 1917, Lenin signed a Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia "On

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<sup>1</sup> Մելիքյան Վ., Փետրվարյան բուրժուադեմոկրատական հեղափոխությունը և հայկական ազգային խորհուրդների ստեղծումը (1916 թ. մարտ-1917 թ. հոկտեմբեր) // «ԼՀԳ», 1989, թիվ 6, էջ 39-48, **Հակոբյան Ա.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետության անկախության ուղին (Անկախության 90-ամյակի առթիվ) // «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես» (այսուհետև՝ «ՊԲՀ»), 2008, թիվ 1, էջ 20-22, **Հակոբյան Ա.**, Ռուսաստանի ու Հայաստանի խորհրդայնացման գործընթացների և միակուսակցական վարչակարգի հաստատման պատմական մի քանի զուգահեռներ // «ՊԲՀ», 2014, թիվ 1, էջ 48-49, **Սարուխանյան Ն.**, Ռուսաստանը և Հայկական հարցը // «ՊԲՀ», 2009, թիվ 2-3, էջ 12:

<sup>2</sup> Մելիքյան Վ., Բշխանության ազգայնացման հիմնահարցը Անդրկովկասում (1917 թ. նոյեմբեր) // «ՊԲՀ», 2010, թիվ 1, էջ 80-98, *նույնի՝* Երևանը և Երևանի նահանգը հոկտեմբերյան հեղաշրջումից հետո // «ՊԲՀ», 2010, թիվ 3, էջ 72-93, *նույնի՝* Բշխանության կազմակերպման հարցը Անդրկովկասում. կոմիսարիատի ստեղծումը // «ԼՀԳ», 2011, թիվ 4, էջ 12-21:

<sup>3</sup> About this paradoxical situation in Turkish Armenia, Joseph Stalin wrote the following: "So-called "Turkish Armenia" is the only country, I believe, that Russia occupied "by right of war." This is that "bit of paradise" which for many years has been (and still is) the object of the voracious diplomatic appetites of the West and of the bloody administrative exercises of the East. Pogroms and massacres of Armenians, on the one hand, and the hypocritical "intercession" of the diplomats of all countries as a screen for fresh massacres, on the other, and a blood-soaked, deceived and enslaved Armenia as a result - who is not familiar with these "commonplace" pictures of the diplomatic "handiwork" of the "civilized" Powers?" (Stalin J. V., Works: Vol. 4 (From Marx to Mao): November 1917-1920. Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953, p. 26).

Turkish Armenia”<sup>1</sup>, according to which the government of Soviet Russia recognized the right to self-determination of Western Armenia<sup>2</sup>. Implementation of the Decree “On Turkish Armenia”<sup>3</sup> could initiate the formation of the new Armenian statehood, thereby uniting Western Armenia and Eastern Armenia an independent state. However, the international situation in 1917-1918 blocked the implementation of this Decree and made possible Turkish military aggression in the Transcaucasus. The Turkish military aggression has been devastating to the Special Transcaucasian Committee, Transcaucasian Commissariat, then the Transcaucasian Sejm, as well as the National Council of Eastern Armenia, because the Turkey has launched a new war against the Armenian people and its anti-Armenian strategy to deepen interethnic conflict in the region<sup>4</sup>.

### **Democratic Citizenship as a Phenomenon of National Identity in the Eastern and Western Armenians**

For a *post-genocidal Armenian society* divided homeland into two parts, independent statehood was not just legal legitimization of national interests, socio-political consolidation, but also an important step towards the revision of the existing anti-Armenian contradictory agreements. The First Republic of Armenia has become an imperative statehood of Eastern Armenia, as well as the guarantor of the preservation of national identity of Eastern and Western Armenians. The coat of arms of the First Republic of Armenia (four dynastic emblem of the Armenian statehood), became a symbol of the young state, but with the ancient statehood, and has become a link between the history of the Armenian people (symbolic values of millennia Armenian statehood), and the First Republic (*see Picture 2*).

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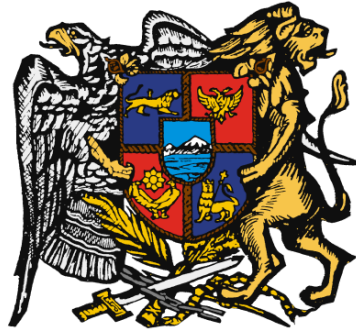
<sup>1</sup> Декрет о «Турецкой Армении» 29 декабря 1917 г. (11 января 1918 г.) // Декреты Советской власти. Том I. 25 октября 1917 г. - 16 марта 1918 г., М., 1957, с. 298-299.

<sup>2</sup> **Арзуманян М. В.**, Ленинский «Декрет о «Турецкой Армении» (к 50-летию опубликования) // «ԼՀԳ», 1968, թիվ 1, էջ 726-28, **Kirakossian A. J.**, The Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide (historical-legal reference in three languages). Yerevan, 2006, p. 84-85, **Stalin J. V.**, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> «Совет Народных Комиссаров объявляет армянскому народу, что Рабочее и Крестьянское правительство России поддерживает право армян оккупированной Россией «Турецкой Армении» на свободное самоопределение вплоть до полной независимости» (Декрет о «Турецкой Армении» 29 декабря 1917 г. (11 января 1918 г.) // Декреты Советской власти. Том I. 25 октября 1917 г. - 16 марта 1918 г., М., 1957, с. 298-299).

<sup>4</sup> **Հակոբյան Ա.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետության անկախության ուղին (Անկախության 90-ամյակի առթիվ) // «ՊԲՀ», 2008, թիվ 1, էջ 20-33, **Մելիքյան Վ.**, Ելիզավետպոլի և Շամխորի իրադարձությունները Անդրկովկասում իշխանության հիմնահարցի համատեքստում (1917 թ. նոյեմբեր-1918 թ. փետրվար) // «ՊԲՀ», 2014, թիվ 2, էջ 70-85, **Սարուխանյան Ն.**, Ռուսաստանը և Հայկական հարցը // «ՊԲՀ», 2009, թիվ 2-3, էջ 3-22, **Աբրահամյան Լ.**, Ռազմաքաղաքական իրադրությունը Բաքվում և Ղարաբաղում 1918 թ. երկրորդ կեսին // «ՊԲՀ», 2006, թիվ 1, էջ 220-229:

*Picture 2. The Coat of Arms of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920)<sup>1</sup>*



Geopolitical processes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century led to the fact that the First Republic of Armenia and the Armenian statehood were formed on the territory of Eastern Armenia, which was founded May 28, 1918 after the collapse of the Transcaucasian Sejm and the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. The First World War, the collapse of the Russian Empire and the subsequent dramatic events had different consequences for the Armenian people and the region as a whole. The government of the Ottoman Empire used the war as the most suitable and convenient occasion for the solution “once and for all”, the Armenian question. The first step to achieve this “Ottoman state doctrine” became the eviction of Western Armenians from their homeland and the genocide of the Armenian people. The World War I and the Armenian Genocide caused an imbalance of organizational structures and political potential of the Armenian people and diaspora, and the aggravation of social, ethnic and religious conflicts have led to the fact that the Armenian national elite is trying to overcome it with the formation of the First Republic of Armenia. The history of the formation of the First Republic of Armenia was going to war with the Turkish army in May 1918, when Armenia was able to defend its national independence and beginning to solve the problems of the Armenian-Azerbaijani, Armenian-Turkish, Armenian-Russian relations. For the First Republic of Armenia were important national security and the preservation of Armenian heritage; Western Armenia and the desire to condemn the Armenian Genocide in the international arena; the solution of territorial disputes and the protection of the border. The First Republic of Armenia since the first days of its existence, faced with such complex territorial problems<sup>2</sup>, which formed in the South Caucasus for a long time. In particular, conflict situation around several disputed territories, which have become crucial territorial confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhichevan); between Armenia and Georgia (Akhalkalak); between Armenia and Turkey

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<sup>1</sup> “The Coat of Arms of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920) designed by member of the Russian Academy of Fine Arts, Architect Alexander Tamanian and artist Hakob Kojoyan” // <http://www.gov.am/en/official> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

<sup>2</sup> **Զոհրապյան Է.**, Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը: 1920 թ. մայիս-1921 թ. հոկտեմբեր, Երևան, 2000:

(Western Armenia). The main foreign policy objective of the First Republic of Armenia has the task of liberating the occupied Turkish side of Armenian territories<sup>1</sup>.

The First Republic of Armenia has become a national imperative for the establishment and development statehood, through which the eastern part of Armenia remained an ideology of state sovereignty, national identity and values of national security. National government institutions of the First Republic of Armenia have proved that legal mechanisms are not only a political necessity, but also a public good and civic culture, social values and civilizational ideology. If we consider the national legal system as a regulator of social relations, it becomes clear that one of its main missions was the transformation of law in instrumental value for the Armenian nation. National political system began to form social and legal values that gradually would have to occupy a dominant position in the Armenian society that ensured the regulation of individual and public activity on the basis of national values, justice and the interests of different social groups.

In the formation of the Armenian statehood in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be divided into two stages: the first stage was the formation of *socio-cultural nation*, and the second stage was the formation of *a political nation*. In the context of new statehood, the transformation of national consciousness and civic culture is a challenge because it happens all the time, more or less active throughout the life of any nation. The first stage was due to the implementation of the national ideology, preservation of the Christian religion, the Armenian language and ethno-cultural and socio-cultural values. Due to these factors of civilization, during many centuries the Armenian nation could preserve its unity, which does not have its own statehood but has its own national language, education system and culture. The second stage was due to the construction of political parties and elites, that is, the concept of constructing national identity was the result because the socio-cultural and socio-political factors.

Since the internal and foreign political situation of the First Republic of Armenia at the time was and continues to be quite difficult. The alienation of the international community, the Russian revolutionary communism, hostile actions of the Turkish side and the continuation of the policy of genocide has had a negative impact on the foreign and domestic policies of the First Republic of Armenia. Evidence of this was the policy of the Armenian Genocide, which was implemented from 1877 to 1923 by the three Turkish political regimes<sup>2</sup>: a) the government of the Ottoman Empire (from 1877 to 1908); b) during the period of political rule of the Young Turks (from 1908 to 1919); c) during the period political rule of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (from 1919 to 1923).

The genocide led to the elimination of the Armenian population in most of the historical homeland of the Armenian ethnos (see Picture 1). May 28, 1919, one year after independence, the government of the First Republic of Armenia proclaimed the

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<sup>1</sup> Չոխրաբյան Է., Ազգամիջյան կռիվները Երևանի նահանգներում 1918 թ., Երևան, 2000:

<sup>2</sup> Геноцид армян в Османской империи: Сборник документов и материалов, под ред. М. Нерсисяна, Ереван, 1983, Safrastyan R., Ottoman Empire: The Genesis of the Program of Genocide (1876-1920), Yerevan, 2011, Kirakossian A. J., British Diplomacy and the Armenian Question: From the 1830s to 1914, Princeton, 2003, Петросян Г., Отношения Республики Армения с Россией (1918-1920 гг.), Ереван, 2012, Galoyan G. A., The Armenian Question and international diplomacy after World War I // Awde N. (Ed.), Armenian Perspectives. London, 1997, p. 311-322.



Declaration on the Free, Independent and United Armenia<sup>1</sup>, according to this government of the First Republic proclaimed itself as the government of the Western Armenia too (heir of national identity, religion, language, and lost their homeland). This action was of great political and civilizational significance for the preservation of the unity of national identity. The proclamation of the unity of Armenia opened a new era in the long history of the Armenian people. Independent statehood has created the necessary conditions for the revival and development of national ideology. The First Republic of Armenia was the symbol of national achievement of the Armenian people for the right to independent statehood and sovereign homeland. It should be noted that the First Republic of Armenia has been a parliamentary republic, and during its existence were formed two convocation of the Parliament on the basis of democratic representation. The first convocation was multiparty parliament, and on the second convocation of the majority of seats received the Armenian Revolutionary Party “Dashnaktsutyun”. The newly established independent Armenian statehood in the short period of its existence (from May 28, 1918 to December 2, 1920) adopted and implemented a number of mechanisms regulating socio-political, economic and cultural processes<sup>2</sup>. For the development of system of public administration of the First Republic of Armenia were remarkable transformation and democratization of the judicial system and local self-government; creation of the national currency; reorganization of the national army; establishment of diplomatic relations and international recognition. An independent state symbols (national flag, national anthem, coat of arms) reflected and embodied people's unity and national ideology. The state symbols were and still are the national values, showing all the Armenians and the international community that the first Armenian statehood will defend the rights and freedoms of the Armenian people and the Armenian nation will revives in their homeland. On the basis of the nation-state discourses were formed democratic citizenship and civic identity of *fragmented Armenian people*.

The phenomenon of democratic citizenship in First Republic of Armenia had two main aspects: *civiliarchic status* and national identity. The national statehood formed the institution of citizenship, which has given the socio-economic, political, spiritual and cultural status of the individual, thus certain rights, freedoms and duties. Prerequisite for the development of civic culture implied membership and participation in civil society as an actor of civil activity. Analyzing the impact of negative processes of the Turkish state on the phenomenon of citizenship of the Armenian people of Western Armenia, in this context, it was a “nationalization of citizenship”, and then the destruction of the Armenian national identity. This means that the citizenship of the Armenian people in Turkey existed against the national community and identity.

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<sup>1</sup> **Hovannisian R. G.**, The Republic of Armenia. Vol. I: The First Year, 1918-1919. University of California Press, 1971, p. 459-471.

<sup>2</sup> **Ալեքսանյան Կ.**, Հայաստանի առաջին Հանրապետությունում լեզվական քաղաքականության հարցի շուրջ // ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Շիրակի հայագիտական հետազոտությունների կենտրոն. Գիտական աշխատություններ, 2011, թիվ 14, էջ 58-62, **Մախմուրյան Գ.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետության անկախությունը Հայոց Ազգային խորհրդի նիստերի արձանագրություններում // «ՊԲՀ», 2014, թիվ 1, էջ 214-235, **Բայան Ա.**, Սիմոն Վրացյանը Հայաստանի Առաջին Հանրապետության վարչապետ // «ՊԲՀ», 2005, թիվ 3, էջ 65-76, **Զոհրաբյան Է.**, 1920 թ. թուրք-հայկական պատերազմը և տերությունները, Երևան, 1997:

In Turkish Armenia were detached human rights and freedoms from Armenian people, which can be characterized as a mechanism for “nationalization of citizenship”. For the Armenian people, this meant a real gap between rights (freedoms) and citizenship, that is, it was anti-Armenian policies of the Turkish government to establish a distinction between citizens and non-citizens.

### **The Difficulties of Political Citizenship and National Identity in the Soviet Armenian Statehood**

After the fall of the First Armenian Republic and its division into Soviet Armenia, this is de facto and de jure, has been cut off for decades, not only from the national, cultural, spiritual and socio-political heritage, but also from the activities of the Armenian Church and diaspora. Formation of the Soviet Armenia and the Second Republic of Armenia was the result of a new geopolitical design and beginning of a new international political process in the South Caucasus. Soviet public administration and citizenship has become a guarantor for the security of *post-genocidal Armenian society*. Under the conditions of a totalitarian political regime continued to social construction of *international identity*. It was a new stage of the civil identity of the Armenian people under the communist ideology. Political and ideological factors of unity of the Soviet people and the civil identity of all nations emphasized belonging to Soviet society. Proceeding from the Soviet ideological approach to the understanding of internationalism, first of all, it is considered an important social and political unity, collective property, the Russian language, atheism.

Soviet Armenia has become a line of distance between the Eastern and Western Armenia, between the national heritage and *post-genocidal socio-political processes* that were manifested and still manifests it in spiritual, religious, linguistic, cultural and value dichotomy. If we consider that for the period between 1917 and 1921 the Soviet political regime were characterized revolutionary anarchy and becoming a totalitarian and centralized power, it becomes apparent paradoxical “class dictatorship” and “forced self-government” in the Armenian society. At this stage, the features of the Soviet political regime became characteristic of terrorism mechanisms of implementation and preservation of people's power (the mass arrests and repression, concentration camps, forced labor camps, etc.). In Soviet Armenia, the traditional political parties, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the national movements and thinkers from the Soviet totalitarian ideology considered as a “dissent” and “anti-communism”. *Revolutionary timocracy* became part of the ideology of totalitarianism, thus banned anything that casts doubt on Bolshevism and which criticized the “*power of people*”. The image of an “*enemy of the people*” for the Armenian identity has been a negative impact. It is obvious that the initial stage of Sovietization social relations, under the totalitarian regime in the Armenian, Bolshevik ideology performed the legitimation of the dictatorship of the proletariat (working class), constantly substantiated the right to power of the Communist Party and its leader, as well as to mobilize the popular masses, control public opinion and behavior.

In the new political situation between the Armenian and the Soviet ruling elite emerged the many conflicts associated with the solution of the Armenian Question, with condemnation the Armenian Genocide and the protection of the rights of the Western

Armenians<sup>1</sup>. From the standpoint of the class approach national movement and the struggle of national intelligence for self-determination in Soviet Armenia was considered as the most rigid form of the class struggle, because it meant the struggle for political power between the class and social groups within the country. Just because they are considered a priority national interests of the Armenian people and tried to prevent the class struggle for the national dialogue. In a situation of ideological monopoly, the activities of national elites in the Armenian society characterized as *bourgeois-nationalist and anti-Soviet*. In accordance with the Soviet ideology, the *national question* was considered *secondary, after the issue of the class struggle*, which worsened during the civil war in Soviet Russia and Soviet space. It can be argued that the approaches to the solution of all the issues of the Armenian heritage and preservation of the Armenian identity in the framework of the Bolshevik regime were different in the “Leninist Bolshevik” and “Stalinist-Bolshevik” political regimes, which, despite the succession and community, were the principal distinguishing features\*.

After the civil war in the former Russian Empire were formed several “independent” of the Soviet state: Russian SFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Belarusian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR, Georgian SSR (in March 1922, the last three republics united in the Transcaucasian Federation). According to the Leninist principle of the state structure in the December 30, 1922 at the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR was approved Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics<sup>2</sup>. Declaration and Treaty were included in the First Constitution of the USSR, which was finally approved at the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR (31 January 1924)<sup>3</sup>. Thus, Soviet Armenia was the founder and part of the political and legal structure of the new state, which was a federal and republican form of government. Constitution of the USSR to Soviet Armenia was the result of a compromise in the given historical period, because the new federal state is not entirely consistent with the objective conditions and peculiarities of national interests. It is important to note that *the Constitution of the Soviet Armenia in 1922 was the First acting Constitution in the Armenian reality*, which was adopted at the state level. After the creation of the Soviet Union and the Transcaucasian Federation were adopted new Constitutions of the Soviet Armenia. The Constitution and the improvement of the legal framework of Soviet Armenia became

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<sup>1</sup> **Զոհրապյան Է.**, Սովետական Ռուսաստանը և հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունները (1920-1922 թթ.), Երևան, 1979:

\* If for Lenin was an important state-building process in the Soviet republics and their union, the development of international culture and the global working class movement, as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory; for Stalin is especially important was the totalitarian system of administration, which used violence as a universal means for the implementation of the ideological, political, social and economic control.

<sup>2</sup> «Декларация и Договор об образовании СССР» (Подписи-автографы членов полномочных делегаций РСФСР, УССР, ЗСФСР, БССР) // Государственный архив Российской Федерации. Ф. Р-3316. Оп. 1. Д. 5. Л. 1-2 // <http://www.rusarchives.ru/statehood/09-02-deklaraciya-obrazovanie-sssr-1922.shtml> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

<sup>3</sup> “The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” (approved by the II Congress of Soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924) (with changes and additions) («Конституция (Основной Закон) Союза Советских Социалистических Республик» (утверждена II Съездом Советов Союза ССР от 31 января 1924 г.) (с изменениями и дополнениями)) // [http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1924/red\\_1924/185480](http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1924/red_1924/185480) (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

one of the most important stages of the successful implementation of the legal mechanisms of the USSR Constitution, thus the development of a new political system and statehood of the Armenian society. For the Armenian people, a multicultural society and statehood based on the autonomy of the Soviet type was a necessary condition for temporary security, but not enough to solve the Armenian Question. In particular, with the connivance of Soviet Russia there was annexation and separation of the territory of Eastern Armenia between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

In the Soviet period, the Armenian Church was deprived of active participation in public life and ceased to be an institution of the political system. Church for the post-genocidal nation was a symbol of the integrity of the nation, therefore, for the Armenian national identity were huge losses that occurred during the communist regime de-Christianization of society and Christianity with its spiritual and moral values was considered as a non-Soviet. It was *a clash and new challenge of the Armenian civilization*, as the church throughout the history of the Armenian people took over the lead role of public institutions, thereby preserving the national identity, spiritual and cultural education, national values and traditions. In fact, the Armenian Church was deprived of many of its foreign eparchies, which limits the ability to bring together all Armenians to preserve the unity of the Armenian people. If the early years of the Soviet regime were relatively favorable for the Armenian Church, then gradually began repression and negative attitude to all religious organizations: any religious actions were taken under the control of the authorities that characterized the ideology of totalitarian atheistic state.

The peculiarity of the Armenian history is that for centuries the Armenian nation could preserve *civilizational integrity and cultural independence* thanks to the church. National unity and statehood of the Armenian people over the centuries have evolved under constant external expansion, which had a negative impact on national identity. Traditionally, the church has paid and still pays much attention to Armenian cultural heritage, ideological and moral education, the Armenian language and patriotism. Despite these anti-religious legislation and anti-national policy of the Soviet government, however the coat of arms of Soviet Armenia has included a huge image of the great national symbol of the mountain Ararat (*see Picture 3*), which was of great importance for the preservation of historical memory and the Armenian national identity.

**Picture 3. The coat of arms of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (1920-1991)<sup>1</sup>**



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<sup>1</sup> “The coat of arms was designed by Martiros Saryan and Hakob Kojoyan” // <http://www.yeraguyn.com/en/day-of-the-state-symbols/history/ra-state-symbol> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

During 70 years of existence of Soviet Armenia experience of public administration and the level of social development made possible the creation of the Third Republic of Armenia. Development of Armenian intelligentsia and the publicity of the Soviet period was a precondition for national rebirth and liberalization. Soviet censorship, banning of opposition and the absence of criticism of the communist regime could not prevent dissident and human rights movement. Furthermore the theme of the Armenian Genocide, the national identity and the struggle for historical justice was reflected in the spiritual and cultural activities. The Armenian people were free spiritual creativity, in a short historical period has added the “gap” of cultural development. Genocide and war destroyed one of the oldest civilized nations of the world, the owner of cultural values created for centuries. Favorable conditions for the development of national culture positively influenced the spiritual image of “model citizens” and the revival of citizenship. Moreover, Armenian culture was central in the Soviet culture in the process of cultural development in all the Union republics. It is interesting that a return to the historical past of the Armenian people was reflected in literature, art, painting, music and culture of Soviet Armenia during the Second World War and in the postwar period<sup>1</sup>. Particularly important was the election of the Catholicos of All Armenians in September 1955, and his letters<sup>2</sup> to the Prime Minister of the USSR (1956). In these letters, Catholicos Vazgen I put forward the problem of unity of Armenian people and church, as well as a just solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, Nakhichevan ASSR and Akhalkalak Region, which are mainly populated by Armenians, but live outside the Soviet Armenia<sup>3</sup>.

The main reason was that during the Second World War, in spite of Turkish neutrality, however, was an active German-Turkish cooperation and the Soviet government became necessary to strengthen the Armenian question and the national memory. Research and presentation of the heroic past of the history of the Armenian people helped raise Armenian patriotism and the idea of building an independent state. World War II for the Soviet Armenia was another difficult test of survival in the new international situation, because from the beginning of the Second World War, Turkey has been able to solve the Armenian question. The first serious threat of the Soviet Armenia, has direct relevance to World War II, it was *re-genocide*. The statesmen of

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<sup>1</sup> **Արզումանյան Ս.**, Սովետահայ վեպը, գիրք 1-3, Երևան, 1967-1986, **Ղուլիսյան Ա. Գ.**, Վարդանանց պատերազմն ըստ Դ. Դեմիրճյանի // «ԼՀԳ», 2013, թիվ 1, էջ 267-278, **Իսահակյան Ա., Ներիկյան Վ.**, Ս. Աբեղյանի անվան գրականության ինստիտուտ // «ՊԲՀ», 2013, թիվ 2, էջ 32-40, **Փիրումյան Ռ.**, Սփյուռքահայ գեղարվեստական գրականությունը Մեծ եղեռնի մասին // «ՊԲՀ», 1990, թիվ 2, էջ 14-31, **Խանջյան Գ.**, Պ. Սևակի «Անլուրի զանգակատուն» գրքի նկարագրությունները, Երևան, 1965, **Yeghiazaryan A.**, Collective Symbols in Periods of Transition: the Feast of Vardanants in Independent Armenia // Bulletin of Yerevan University: Sociology, Economics 2013, 139.5, p. 62-71.

<sup>2</sup> **Мартикян Т.**, Жизнь под знаком креста // «Анив», 25.03.2012, № 6 (39): <http://aniv.ru/archive/39/zhizn-pod-znakom-kresta-tirajr-martikjan> (Accessed: 01.06.2015); **Мартикян Т.**, Жизнь под знаком креста // «Анив», 29.11.2012, № 1 (40): <http://aniv.ru/archive/40/zhizn-pod-znakom-kresta-prodolzhenie-tirajr-martikjan> (Accessed: 01.06.2015).

<sup>3</sup> «Письма Католикоса всех армян Вазгена I Председателю Совета Министров СССР Н. А. Булганину» // «ՊԲՀ», թիվ 2, էջ 249-255:

Soviet Armenia learned the lessons of recent history, seeks to take into account the risks and realities of world politics.

After victory of the USSR in the Second World War, for the Armenian people emerged a unique historical chance to return historical lands of Western Armenia. In Soviet Armenia and the Armenian diaspora's political elite actively discussed the possibility of the return of Western Armenia. This became a positive factor for national rebirth<sup>1</sup>, the international recognition and condemnation of the fact of the Armenian Genocide and solution to the question of Western Armenia. Unfortunately, under the influence of political processes and actors, the question of the return of Western Armenian lands after World War II was rejected and removed from the agenda of world politics. Despite all the efforts of the USSR are achieved revision of borders between the USSR and Turkey, nevertheless the world powers did not support the position of the Soviet Union<sup>2</sup>.

The peoples of the Soviet Union suffered the greatest losses in World War II. Military actions and the consequences of World War II caused great damage to the existence of a world civilization and turned into a humanitarian catastrophe. Many war criminals were punished during the Nuremberg Trial and the Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1945-1948)<sup>3</sup>, and the ideology of fascism was convicted. In order to prevent a new world war, at the Yalta Conference in 1945, it was decided to establish the United Nations. Strengthening the position of the Soviet Union on the international stage after the World War II changed the geopolitical order. This became the reason the beginning of a new era of struggle for world domination and global confrontation on the one hand between the USSR and the USA, on the other hand between the USSR and Western European countries. On the background of aggravated global contradictions among the Western European countries have begun the integration processes and create new organizations to strengthen convergence (OEEC/OECD; NATO; CoE)<sup>4</sup>. In contrast, the USSR created the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It was the beginning of "the Cold War" and "the Iron

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<sup>1</sup> An example of preservation and revival of national identity began to Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex (1965-1967) dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide; Sardarapat Memorial (1978); the Matenadaran (1959); the statue of David of Sassoun (1959); first official celebration of "Erebuni-Yerevan" (1968); the statue of Vardan Mamikonyan (1975), etc.

<sup>2</sup> «Т. 5. Конференция Объединенных Наций в Сан-Франциско (25 апреля-26 июня 1945г.)» // Советский Союз на международных конференциях периода Великой Отечественной войны, 1941-1945гг.: Сборник документов в 6-ти томах / Министерство иностранных дел СССР. М., 1980; «Т. 6. Берлинская (Потсдамская) конференция руководителей трех союзных держав – СССР, США и Великобритании (17 июля-2 августа 1945г.)» // Советский Союз на международных конференциях периода Великой Отечественной войны, 1941-1945 гг., Сборник документов в 6-ти томах / Министерство иностранных дел СССР, М., 1984.

<sup>3</sup> "Milestones: 1945-1952. The Nuremberg Trial and the Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1945–1948)" // <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/nuremberg> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

<sup>4</sup> "Organisation for European Economic Co-operation". // <http://www.oecd.org/general/organisationforeuropeaneconomicco-operation.htm> (Accessed: 28.05.2015); "A short history of NATO" // <http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history.html> (Accessed: 28.05.2015); "Our History: Founding fathers" // <http://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/founding-fathers> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

Curtain”<sup>1</sup>, which lasted until the period of perestroika and transformation of a totalitarian political system of the USSR (1985). Thus the world was to polarize and global blocs headed by its leaders began to struggle for influence in the Third World.

For the post-war international community has become an important UN human rights activities, which was aimed at preventing all forms of discrimination, torture and other inhuman acts that demean human dignity. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided an opportunity for the development of universal, regional and national cooperation on human rights. In regional terms, the protection of human rights was the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Council of Europe. An important step towards the recognition of the Armenian Genocide was the Resolution of the General Assembly of the UN 96 (I) of 11 December 1946 for the first time in the history of humanity has recognized genocide as an international criminal offense. In particular, with the adoption of *the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948)<sup>2</sup> to the Armenian people was essential the humanization of international relations, because the UN Convention provides the legal framework for the recognition of the Armenian genocide. Subject of the Armenian Genocide and various issues of national identity and memory got reflected in the Armenian Soviet historiography and literature, art and music, the school system and university education, etc. In April 24, 1965 in Yerevan took place unprecedented demonstration dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. The continuation of the development of national identity was the adoption of the *Law of the Armenian SSR of November 22, 1988 “On the condemnation of the Genocide of 1915 in Ottoman Turkey”*, thereby the Supreme Council of the Armenian SSR in legislative level, recognized the Armenian Genocide. The first conflict of national identity began with the Karabakh movement and the legitimate desire of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region to join Soviet Armenia. Despite the fact that the Constitution of the USSR and the legal mechanisms made it possible for a civilized solution, nevertheless a negative decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union on 18 July 1988 led to the escalation of the conflict. Given the complex situation and mass killings of Armenians in the Azerbaijani SSR, on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1989 the Supreme Council of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh, “*based on universal principles of self-determination of nations and responding to the legitimate aspirations to reunification of two forcibly separated parts of the Armenian people*”, in a joint session shall take decision about reunification of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh. It is important to note that the revival of national identity and values have made possible a dialogue between the generations, and create a new generation of independence.

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<sup>1</sup> “Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” Speech.” The Churchill Centre // [https://www.winstonchurchill.org/images/pdfs/for\\_educators/MilliganChurchillsIronCurtainSpeech-LessonPlanFinal2.docx-1.pdf](https://www.winstonchurchill.org/images/pdfs/for_educators/MilliganChurchillsIronCurtainSpeech-LessonPlanFinal2.docx-1.pdf) (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

<sup>2</sup> “Came into force on 12 January 1951, the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, in accordance with article XIII.” (“Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948” // <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf>(Accessed: 31.05.2015).

## National Identity with Dignity: New Hope for Armenian Statehood

The formation of the Third Republic of Armenia began after the collapse of the USSR, when Armenian people got an opportunity to develop independent statehood. At the same time, in terms of national identity and cultural memory, the Third Republic of Armenia currently includes only 1/13 part of the historical territory of Armenia (see Picture 4).

*Picture 4. Present day map of Turkey and Armenia, showing an outline of Historic Armenia and Cilicia (little Armenia)<sup>1</sup>*



The recognition of the Armenian Genocide has become a foreign policy priority and a factor in the international activities of the Third Republic of Armenia. In August 23, 1990 the Supreme Council of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was adopted the Declaration of Independence, in which it has recorded a demand of the international recognition of the 1915 Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia<sup>2</sup>. In the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia in 1995 legally enshrined the idea of *national sovereignty*<sup>3</sup>, which interconnects the *state sovereignty* with *popular sovereignty*. Independent Armenia became homeland for all Armenians and the symbol of national Revival for all parts of the Armenian people. The Third Republic of Armenia regained the state symbols (the Coat of arms, the Flag,

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<sup>1</sup> “The History Place. Genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century” // <http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/armenians.htm> (Accessed: 01.06.2015).

<sup>2</sup> “Armenian Declaration of Independence.” Official website of the Government of the RA // <http://www.gov.am/en/independence> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).

<sup>3</sup> “The Constitution of the Republic of Armenia (with amendments).” (Adopted on 05.07.1995). Official website of the National Assembly of the RA // <http://www.parliament.am/parliament.php?id=constitution&lang=eng> (Accessed: 28.05.2015).



the Anthem)<sup>1</sup> of the First Republic of Armenia, thereby maintaining the continuity of national traditions, spiritual and moral values. The revival of national statehood made possible the development of the Pan-Armenian state on the basis of religion, values, culture and language. In terms of national identity, citizenship is not only a legal value but also the cultural importance of having its spiritual constitution.

### *The Coat of Arms of the Republic of Armenia<sup>2</sup>*



The evolution of national identity began in the Soviet Armenia, which has been associated with the rethinking of the national heritage<sup>3</sup>, with the movement of condemning the Armenian Genocide<sup>4</sup> and continue to grow during the Karabakh movement. The ideas of national identity and patriotism took shape in Soviet Armenia at the stage of the reform of the totalitarian political regime, which contributed to the revival of the national historical memory. Publicistics included intelligentsia of Soviet Armenia and the diaspora, which began to express the basic ideas in all areas of the revival of national consciousness. Publicist articles those years played an important role in the development of national consciousness of that time, and later became the spiritual foundation of the identity of rebirth in the early years of the Karabakh movement and the independence of Armenia. The Karabakh movement and the war have had a huge impact on the process of becoming a single national identity among Armenians. Only after the establishment of peace and a temporary truce began a new

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<sup>1</sup> “State symbols of the Republic of Armenia” // Official website of the President of the RA: <http://www.president.am/en/state-symbols> (Accessed: 16.05.2015).

<sup>2</sup> “The Coat of Arms” // Official website of the President of the RA: <http://www.president.am/en/state-symbols> (Accessed: 16.05.2015).

<sup>3</sup> **Барсегов Ю.**, Геноцид армян – преступление против человечества (О правомерности термина и юридической квалификации) // «ԼՀԳ», 1987, թիվ 4, էջ 25-39, **Дариева Т.**, Bringing the Soil back to the Homeland. Reconfigurations of Representation of Loss in Armenia // COMPARATIV, 2006, № 16 (3), pp. 87-101, **Дариева Ц.**, От молчания к гласности. Реконфигурация памяти об армянской утрате в постсоциалистической Армении // «Этнографическое обозрение», 2008, № 3, с. 128-146, **Гисперт Ю.**, Монумент как инсценировка диалога (этно-философская интерпретация) // «ԼՀԳ», 2003, թիվ 1, էջ 217-229, **Марутян А.**, Памятник жертвам геноцида в контексте ритуалов памяти армянского народа // «Этнографическое обозрение», 2008, № 3, с. 119-128.

<sup>4</sup> «Եղեռնի զոհերի հուշարձանի մոտ» // «ՊԷՀ», 1975, թիվ 2, էջ 79-80:

phase of public policy of the Republic of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic in the formation of national interests, which continues to the present. Due to the liberation struggle of the Armenian people was formed the second independent statehood of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

It should be noted that over the past 70 years Soviet Armenians were not ready for new challenges after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the absence of sufficient political and financial organized Diaspora, without a corresponding program of action of the national political doctrine Armenians were missed favorable prospects and does not take into account the possible danger of imminent collapse of the Soviet Union. It is obvious that at the initial stage of the post-Soviet transformation, from the side of the national political elite had effectively used opportunities a transitional period. For the new Republic of Armenia has become topical not only the establishment of an independent state, but also the formation of the relevant authorities of the representative of the Western Armenians in the diaspora and the proper coordination and planning of activities of Armenian organizations and political parties in the diaspora. Since the solution of the Armenian Question means to achieve recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the international community and compensation for moral, material and territorial damages in respect of the people of Western Armenia.

Decades of destruction of national identity, Sovietisation, weakening of national culture and values, as well as the absence of developed national and state political doctrine and unavailability of the diaspora by the end of the era of the Soviet Union led to the fact that the diaspora is not able to support the Soviet Armenians in the choice of the mechanism of protection of national interests. Even at the critical moment of hostilities after leaving the Soviet Army, diaspora was unable to provide the necessary assistance. All this did not allow Armenians to develop a diplomatic success to ensure recognition from the international community the right to independence of the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the condemnation of the massacres of Armenians in Azerbaijan. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan began the war against Armenia both in the border regions of Armenia and the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result, losing the war, Azerbaijan closed its borders to Armenia, and relations with Armenia are limited only negotiations on the future status of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Armenia and Turkey have no diplomatic relations and the Armenian-Turkish border was closed in 1993 on the initiative of the Turkish side. Still ongoing blockade of Armenia by Turkey aimed at the socio-political and economic isolation and the collapse of Armenia, as well as modern Turkish government wants to make concessions to the Armenian side in the negotiation process on Nagorno-Karabakh. The current Turkish government puts forward a number of preconditions for establishing bilateral relations, in particular Turkey demands that Armenia abandoned the policy of international recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and Turkey has a pro-Azerbaijani position. The first progress in Armenian-Turkish relations began at the initiative of the Armenian side on 6 September 2008 in the format of *“football diplomacy”*, when the presidents of the two states discussed the possibility of establishing bilateral relations. Obviously, for the modern political elite of Turkey are unacceptable independent and developing Armenia, because the Christian Armenia will always interfere with the expansion of new Ottomans. Ethno-national strategy of formation “the Eurasian Turkic Empire” in modern Turkey is still urgent. If the non-Turkic peoples inhabiting

those territories which unsubscribed under the “Great Turan” do not want to assimilate with the Turks, they are exposed to, and will be exposed to destruction.

A comparative analysis of the level of current challenges for two Armenian statehood, it should be noted that the main threat to the national security of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic originate from Turkey and Azerbaijan. Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic are in a state of military conflict with Azerbaijan. At the same time, Turkey is still no diplomatic relations with Armenia; and Turkey still keeps its border closed, and keeps Armenia in blockade, which, from the point of view of international law, estimated as a factor of the cold war and hostility. It should be noted that Azerbaijan has a military treaty with Turkey, according to which, in case of war, the country shall afford one another the necessary military assistance. Armed forces of Armenia and the Defense Army of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic are a deterrent to the outbreak of hostilities from the Azerbaijani side. In the case of military aggression of the Turkish army Armenia’s national security is ensured by international agreements and the security system within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), and the Russian military base stationed in Armenia.

Today the Republic of Armenia is a member of many international and European governmental organizations (the UN, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the CIS, the BSEC, and others). Armenia has also participated in NATO's Partnership for Peace program (since 1994), as well as Armenia has been included the European Neighbourhood policy (since 2004), the Eastern Partnership (since 2009) and the Eurasian economic union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan (since 2015). Armenian Church, political parties, media and civil society are actively involved in the integration processes, thus developing civilizational democracy, democratic identity and civic culture. At this stage of development of the Armenian identity is continued with the process of international recognition of the Armenian Genocide and “*the Pan-Armenian Declaration on the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide*”<sup>1</sup> once again demonstrated to the whole civilized world, the just demand of the Armenian people.

## Conclusions

On the basis of comparative political analysis of the destructive influence of the Armenian Genocide on the state, statehood and national identity, it becomes apparent the following:

- Turkish policy of genocide in Western Armenia was aimed at the destruction of the socio-economic, political, spiritual and cultural spheres of the Armenian society, which continues to this day. As a result of prolonged absence of the national statehood of the Armenians, the Armenian people dispersed throughout the world. In all countries where Armenians settled, they began to form the Armenian diaspora, which played and still continue to play an important role in the development and strengthening of the international status of Armenia.

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<sup>1</sup> “The Pan-Armenian Declaration on the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide was promulgated at the Tsitsernakaberd memorial complex (29.01.2015).” The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute // <http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/29.01.2015-hrchakagir.php> (Accessed: 24.04.2015).

- Armenian Genocide totally changes the socio-political role of national institutions, the effectiveness of which hung from the potential of civilization, values and culture. In this regard, post-genocidal society in order to preserve its unity had to develop new mechanisms, but thus increasingly reckon with the interests of the superpowers.
- In post-genocide Armenian society distrust emerged from the international community of civilized nations and humanity, and in Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian companies having value and cultural conflicts between the ideas of the historical homeland, state, statehood, which is reflected and is still reflected in the formation of national identity.
- For the Republic of Armenia is important to preserve the national identity and values of the Armenian people in the diaspora (Armenian family, Armenian Church and religion, Armenian language and culture). These problems has always been relevant for the Armenian people for a long time and in different historical periods there were various ways of preserving the national identity, which are reflected in the sources of the Armenian law. In particular, religious canons adopted by church councils were national sources of the Armenian law and act in the Armenian states and the Armenian community.
- Every stage in the formation of the Armenian state institutions is a complex, self-organizing and dynamic system that undergoes constant change. In times of great upheaval of social, economic and political at the beginning of the XX century in the Armenian society has changed dramatically. After the genocide, the former social institutions in Western Armenia were wiped out. After 1915 it was necessary to choose new starting point and another vector for the preservation of national identity and socio-political unification.
- Second Republic of Armenia can be considered a starting point and another vector of development. In the Soviet Union, with its internationalism, the emphasis was on “the tradition of friendship” between the Soviet people, especially the local ethnic groups with the Russian people. However, even in the Soviet ideological matrix in the Armenian society began the development of the spiritual and cultural life and rethinking issues of national identity and statehood. In Soviet Armenia was adopted the first acting Constitution in the history of Armenia and was first adopted a law which condemned the Armenian Genocide. During 70 years in the Armenian society was becoming the new political system of government, parliamentary culture, a new system of territorial division and management.
- National culture and values of the Armenian people were of great importance for the preservation and development of statehood. Due to the cultural constitution of the Armenian people always keeps the idea of national statehood and political identity. At different stages in history, the Armenian people lost state, but never statehood.
- Third Republic of Armenia as a new independent state is a state and government of all the Armenians, thereby the embodiment of Armenian political, socio-economic, spiritual and cultural heritage. After independence, the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic appeared and are still in a situation of war with Azerbaijan, as well as the escalation of the

conflict and the blockade of the Turkish side. From the viewpoint of the Armenian identity, the two Armenian states are again in the fight against pan-Turkism.

- Today the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic are the basis for the development of national identity and statehood. Armenians of Javakhk still have a long process of establishing its autonomous self-government in Georgia. Therefore, at the present stage of development of the Armenian statehood is important association of communities of the diaspora and formation of the all-diaspora organizations.
- The Armenian Genocide happened at the stage of the lack of international law and the UN, as well as European law, and the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the European Union. At this stage of modern Armenian statehood and national identity it has civilizational meaning of recognition and condemnation of the genocide at the international level.

### ***Աշոտ Ալեքսանյան – Հայոց ցեղասպանության ազդեցությունն ազգային պետականության և քաղաքական ինքնության ձևավորման վրա***

Հոդվածում քաղաքական հայագիտության մեթոդաբանության տեսանկյունից դիտարկված են ազգային պետականության և քաղաքացիական ինքնության վրա հայոց ցեղասպանության ազդեցության հիմնահարցերը:

Ցեղասպանությունը հայկական քաղաքացիավարությունը բաժանեց երեք մասի՝ մինչև ցեղասպանությունը, ցեղասպանության իրագործումը և հետցեղասպանություն: Մեծ եղեռնը կործանարար ազդեցություն ունեցավ հայ ժողովրդի անկախ պետականության հետագա ամրապնդման, քաղաքացիավարական ինտեգրման և ազգային ինքնության ձևավորման վրա: Հայաստանի Առաջին Հանրապետության պետականության կայացման և պահպանման դժվարությունները հնարավորություն չտվեցին քաղաքական ընտրանուն հետևողականորեն պաշտպանելու հայ ժողովրդի օրինական շահերը: Չնայած այն հանգամանքին, որ Հայկական ԽՍՀ-ում սահմանափակված էին Հայոց ցեղասպանության միջազգային ճանաչման և դատապարտման գործընթացը, այնուամենայնիվ, սկսած խորհրդային ժամանակաշրջանից, Մեծ եղեռնի հիմնախնդիրները դարձան պատմագիտական, արվեստաբանական, գրականագիտական, մշակութաբանական և մարդաբանական վերլուծությունների առարկա: Հայաստանի Երրորդ Հանրապետության անկախության հռչակմամբ միջպետական մակարդակում սկսվեց Հայոց ցեղասպանության միջազգային ճանաչման իրավաքաղաքական գործընթացը: Հայաստանի Հանրապետության և Արցախի դեմ մինչև օրս շարունակվում է Թուրքիայի և Ադրբեջանի ցեղասպան քաղաքականությունը, որի պատճառով XXI դարում հայկական քաղաքացիավարությունն ու ազգային ինքնությունը կրկին հայտնվել են պանթուրքիզմի դեմ պայքարում:

**Ашот Алексанян – Влияние Геноцида армян на формирование национальной государственности и политической идентичности**

В статье, на основе методологии политического арменоведения, рассматриваются вопросы влияния геноцида на национальную государственность и гражданскую идентичность армян. Геноцид разделил армянскую цивилизацию на три части: до геноцида, во время геноцида и после геноцида. Геноцид армян оказал разрушительное воздействие на дальнейшее укрепление независимой государственности, цивилизационной интеграции и формирование национальной идентичности. Трудности и препятствия в процессе сохранения Первой Республики Армения лишили политическую элиту возможности последовательно защищать законные интересы армянского народа. Несмотря на то, что Армянская ССР была объективно ограничена в действиях, направленных на международное признание и осуждение Геноцида, тем не менее, начиная с советского периода вопросы Геноцида стали предметом исторических, юридических, культурологических, художественных, литературных и антропологических анализов. С провозглашением независимости Третьей Республики Армения начались политико-правовые процессы признания Геноцида армян на межгосударственном уровне. В нынешние времена, в процессе ликвидации последствий Геноцида армян, ключевое значение имеют укрепление государственности, демократизация политической системы, становление гражданского общества с предпосылками и тенденциями общенациональной и международной интеграции. Против Республики Армения и Арцаха до сих пор продолжается политика геноцида со стороны Турции и Азербайджана, вследствие чего в XXI веке Армянская цивилизация и национальная идентичность вновь оказались в борьбе против пантюркизма.